UNCLASSIFIED

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

Part V

PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE, Office of the Special Assistant to the National Security Affairs, Records Declassified

UNCLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
By kbh, NARA, Date 12/17/98

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

IN THE

UNITED STATES

Part V

Press and Publications

DECLASSIFIED BY 275 WEW/MDC
ON 7/5/89
NLE 89-26

August, 1957

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director

57 FF 7

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This Property is the property of Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE i

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS ii

A. Summary ii
B. Conclusions ii

I. IMPORTANCE AND FUNCTIONS 1

A. Importance 1
B. Functions 3

II. FORM AND CONTENT 6

A. Form 6
B. Content 7

III. PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS 11

A. National Publications 11

1. Newspapers 11

a. Daily Worker and The Worker 11
b. People's World 15
c. Midwest Daily Record 16

2. Magazines 16

a. Political Affairs 16
b. Mainstream 18
c. National Guardian 19
d. Other Periodicals 19

3. Inner-Party Publications 21

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

B. District and Local Publications 23

1. District Publications 23
2. Local Publications. 24

a. Industry and Shop Papers 25
b. Neighborhood Papers 26

C. Foreign-Language Publications 27

IV. BOOKS 28

A. Marxist-Leninist Classics. 28
B. Communist Countries 29
C. United States. 31
D. Art, Music, and Literature 32
E. Children's Books. 34
F. Other Books 36

V. PAMPHLETS. 39

A. Popularity 39
B. Types. 40

1. Agitational Pamphlets. 40
2. Propaganda Pamphlets 41
3. Theoretical Pamphlets 41
4. Organizational Pamphlets. 42

VI. LEAFLETS. 43

A. Value. 43
B. Types 43
C. Content. 44

VII. MISCELLANEOUS PRINTED MATTER 47

A. Posters and Stickers 47
B. Calendars and Greeting Cards. 48
C. Newspaper Advertisements 49

VIII. PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS 52

A. International Publishers 52
B. New Century Publishers 53
C. Other Publishing Houses 54
D. Printing Establishments 55

IX. DISTRIBUTION METHODS 57

A. Party Organizations 57
B. Bookstores 61
C. Book Clubs 62

X. VOLUME 63

A. Peak 63
B. Decline 66

SOURCES 69

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

UNCLASSIFIED

PREFACE

This monograph is the fifth in a series of detailed studies dealing with communist propaganda in the United States from the founding of the Communist Party, USA, in 1919, to the present time. (U)

This monograph examines the communist press and publications, the most important channel used by American communists in their propaganda and agitation activities. (U)

The information contained in this monograph has been compiled from both public and confidential sources. The public sources are listed at the end of the monograph. The confidential sources are being retained by this Bureau. (U)

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The press and publications are considered by communists to be the most important and most effective vehicle of agitation and propaganda. The Communist Party, USA, for its size, has distributed more literature than any other organization in the United States. Through the dissemination of communist literature, the Communist Party is able to indoctrinate its members and sympathizers and to reach and propagandize the noncommunist masses. During its existence, the Communist Party, USA, has continually made strenuous efforts to improve the form and content of its literature and widen its distribution and consumption. (U)

B. Conclusions

1. Communists regard the Marxist press and publications as the keystone of all their agitation and propaganda work and fundamental to the life and success of the Communist Party. (U)

2. The vital role that the press and publications play in the agitation and propaganda activities of the communist movement has been constantly emphasized by Soviet and American communist leaders alike. (U)

3. The communist press and publications are aimed at and prepared for target groups both inside and outside the Communist Party. (U)

4. While serving chiefly as instruments of agitation and propaganda, the communist press and publications are also valuable to the Communist Party for purposes of organization, recruiting, political education, political guidance, and mobilization. (U)

5. Communist literature is printed in a vast variety of forms, such as newspapers, books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, stickers, calendars, advertisements, bulletins, guides, outlines, et cetera. (U)

6. Literature distribution is a basic and prominent part of Communist Party activity, and communists are continually taking steps to improve and augment the dissemination of their publications. (U)

7. All communist literature stresses the ceaseless "class struggle," the necessity for destroying the capitalist system, and the inevitability of the victory of communism in the United States and throughout the rest of the world. (U)

8. By translating the "Aesopian language," or Party double talk, contained in communist publications, Communist Party members can determine the Party line, at any given time, on local, national, and international affairs. (U)

9. The Daily Worker has been the foremost propaganda outlet of the Communist Party, USA, ever since it was first established in 1924 at the behest of the Communist International. (U)

10. Pamphlets and leaflets are favorite forms of publications utilized by communist propagandists and they are disseminated in huge quantities. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. IMPORTANCE AND FUNCTIONS

A. Importance

Since its invention, printing has played a significant part in the development of civilization. More specifically, in the form of newspapers, books, pamphlets, and leaflets, products of the printing press have been of invaluable assistance to the success of political movements. Thomas Paine's pamphlets had a heartening moral effect on the colonies during the dark days of the American Revolution. Denis Diderot and the Encyclopedists, through their printed works, were a factor contributing to the outbreak of the French Revolution. (1)(U)

The power of the printed word has long been recognized by communists everywhere. As far back as 1901, V. I. Lenin characterized the press as a "collective propagandist and collective agitator" in spreading ideas, educating the masses, and attracting political allies. (2)(U)

Joseph Stalin viewed the communist press as a "transmission belt" between the Communist Party and the masses:

> "The press is the prime instrument through which the Party speaks daily, hourly, with the working class in its own indispensable language. No other means such as this for weaving spiritual ties between Party and class, no other tool so flexible, is to be found in nature." (3)(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNCLASSIFIED

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

In 1921, the Communist International* informed the Communist Party, USA, that the press is a "most important weapon" of the Communist Party in fulfilling its role as "the leader of the struggling workers." (4) (U)

From its earliest days, the Communist Party in the United States has stressed the importance of distributing communist literature. Charles E. Ruthenberg, the first general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, made this statement:

> "The distribution of literature is the most effective form of propaganda. The Communist Party will rely upon this method of reaching the workers as the major weapon to enlighten and organize the workers for Communist principles." (5) (U)

In the intervening years, the vital role of the press and publications as weapons of propaganda has been reiterated by communist leaders in this country. In 1948, a top American communist propagandist declared that "the printed word...bring_our propaganda to the workers in its most elaborated and developed form and, if effectively organized, can reach far greater numbers than any other medium at our disposal." (6) (U)

*The Communist International, or the Comintern, as it was commonly called, was established in 1919 as a union of communist parties throughout the world. Admission to the Comintern was contingent upon the acceptance of 21 conditions. The Communist Party in the United States became an affiliate in 1921 but disaffiliated in 1940. The Comintern was formally dissolved in 1943 as an ostensible gesture of "friendship" between the Soviet Union and its World War II allies. The basic principles and objectives of the Comintern, however, are still in effect and are closely adhered to at the present time by the Communist Party, USA. (U)

Another American communist official, several years later, asserted that "without a Marxist press, without Marxist literature," there can be no Communist Party. (7) At the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, in February, 1957, a special committee on the Marxist press stated that "circulation of the Marxist press is a fundamental necessity of our party." (8)(U)

Thus, it can be seen that the dissemination of literature is regarded by communists as the most important and the most effective channel of agitation and propaganda. It is easy to understand why, years ago, the Communist Party, USA, adopted the slogan, "Reach the Millions with Our Literature." (9) It is through the distribution of literature that the Communist Party indoctrinates and "educates" Party members and sympathizers, and reaches and influences the noncommunist masses. Without this method of establishing and maintaining contact with its members and the noncommunist masses, the Communist Party would be of little or no significance.(U)

B. Functions

A number of basic and closely related functions are performed by the communist press and publications. In addition to serving as instruments(U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

for agitation and propaganda, communist publications are valuable for purposes of organization, recruiting, political education, political guidance, and mobiiization. (U)

The major function of communist literature, of course, is that of agitation and propaganda. The press was once described by an American communist leader as "the most important instrument in the agitation and propaganda of the Party." (10) Through its literature, the Party strives to create discontent with the capitalist system, explain the communist ideology to the masses, and inculcate faith in the inevitable victory of communism. (U)

Another prominent role of the communist press and publications is that of organizer. Communist literature is employed to organize the masses in order to bring them ideologically and organizationally under the leadership and influence of the Communist Party. (U)

The Communist Party also uses literature as a means of recruiting new members. Communist publications serve as a recruiting device by aiding Party members who are engaged in recruiting activity. Party publications are used to provide answers to questions in the minds of many potential recruits. (U)

The indoctrination of new and old members is still another function of Party literature. The political "education" of new members is a decisive factor in shaping their attitude and helping them find their place in the Party's ranks. The political "education" of older members arms them with a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and an understanding of the Party's policies and programs. (U)

Another role of Party literature is political guidance. It is through Party publications--especially newspapers--that the current and correct political line of the Party is made known to members. By faithfully reading communist publications, members are able to determine the Party's position on various issues at any given time. (U)

A final function of the communist press and publications is that of mobilizing Party members and the masses for action. Communist literature seeks to arouse and stir Party members and non-Party people alike to fulfill communist programs and objectives. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

II. FORM AND CONTENT

A. Form

An enormous quantity of communist literature has been published and disseminated during the 38-year history of the American communist movement. This literature encompasses a vast variety of forms--newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, bulletins, guides, study outlines, and the like. Publications run the gamut of quality and size from small one-page mimeographed handbills to well-printed hard-backed books. (U)

At first, communist publications were generally crudely prepared and printed on cheap paper. In succeeding years, however, the form of the Party's printed message has undergone numerous changes and improvements. Today, communist publications are usually printed on good paper, with inviting make-up and typography, and attractive, colorful covers. (U)

Communist publications have always been issued at very low prices, ranging from a few cents for pamphlets to several dollars for some of the more expensive books. Communists make a practice of offering (U)

their literature at nominal prices to facilitate maximum sales. Leaflets and handbills are distributed free, and so, in many cases, are small pamphlets. (U)

Communist publications are aimed at and prepared for many kinds of audiences--Communist Party members, labor, Negroes, foreign-born, students, artists, women, farmers, et cetera--and cover a wide variety of interests, ranging from economics to music. (U)

B. Content

The content of a communist publication is governed by the type of group for which it is destined. Literature intended to indoctrinate and instruct Party members is usually openly identified with the communist movement. On the other hand, communist literature designed to propagandize and influence the noncommunist public ordinarily has its origin carefully hidden from the unsuspecting reader. (U)

The Party's newspapers, the Daily Worker and People's World, and its monthly theoretical magazine, Political Affairs, are published primarily for Party members and sympathizers. Bulletins, guides, study outlines, and the like, are prepared by the national, district, and local organizational units of the Communist Party for the exclusive use of Party members. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

It is in these publications that the Party prints its statements and directives, as well as articles by leading communists, both American and foreign. By careful and regular reading of these publications and translating the so-called "Aesopian language," or Party double talk, the Party member is able to ascertain, during any specific period, the contemporary Party line on local, national, and international issues. The "Aesopian language" of communists has been described as "the cleverest device ever hit upon to conceal subversive intentions and instructions." (11) (U)

Material published for Party members makes extensive use of Marxist language to emphasize class warfare, since that struggle is the basis of the revolutionary theory behind all communist activity. Communists and their potential sympathizers are referred to as "workers," "progressives," "proletariat," or "masses." Opponents of communism are characterized as "enemies of the working class," "reactionaries," "fascists," or "capitalists." (12) (U)

Due to the military evolution of the communist movement, communist literature for Party members is full of military phraseology and abounds in the imagery of war. Prevalent in the basic writings published for Party members are such military terms as "enemy," "strategy and (U)

tactics," "mobilize the masses," "prepare for the impending struggle," "theoretical and ideological front," "close the ranks," "conduct a counteroffensive," and "storm the fortress of capitalism." (13)(U)

Ever present in publications prepared for Party consumption is a strong reminder of the communist goal--that of destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and establishing a communist form of government in its place.(U)

To propagandize and influence the noncommunist masses, communists resort to newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, leaflets, and other forms of printed literature designed and prepared for a particular type of reader. Persistent and continuous efforts are particularly made to get the Daily Worker, People's World, and Political Affairs into noncommunist hands.(U)

Literature prepared for non-Party audiences soft-pedals the Marxist terms and military phraseology so common in the material written for Party members. But the theme of the never-ending "class struggle" is always injected--either blatantly or subtly--into the context of all such literature. The social, economic, and political aspects of the capitalist system are invariably shown in an unfavorable light. The tone of such(U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

literature conveys the definite impression that workers are being constantly oppressed and exploited under capitalists. The insistent claim is made that capitalism is in its final stage of decay and its doom is historically inevitable. Similarly, communist literature constantly boasts that nothing can stop the triumph of communism in the United States and throughout the entire world.(U)

III. PRINCIPAL PUBLICATIONS

A. National Publications

Since 1919, many newspapers, magazines, and other publications have been published and distributed nationally in the United States by communists. The great majority of these publications have not been issued in the name of the Communist Party, USA, but they have been under strict Party control and influence. It is through these publications that communist propaganda has been imparted to Party members and to noncommunist Americans. (U)

1. Newspapers

a. Daily Worker and The Worker

The newspaper is an almost ideal medium of propaganda, and communists are well aware of this fact. The most important communist publication is--and always has been--the Daily Worker, published in New York City, with its Sunday edition known as The Worker. The Communist Party has long recognized the Daily Worker and The Worker as "the major journalistic expressions of the viewpoint of the Communist movement" (14) and as the main instruments for "reaching and winning the masses." (15) (U)

The Daily Worker endeavors to reinforce the opinions of its regular readers and, to a lesser extent, to draw other workers into the (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

communist fold. Although it is referred to as a newspaper, the Daily Worker prints only news that advances the communist cause. Its editors emphasize only those current events and issues favorable to communism and unfavorable to capitalism. Other items are either ignored or else distorted to agree with the Party line. A comparison of The New York Times with any corresponding issue of the Daily Worker will clearly illustrate the different manner in which news events are reported by these two newspapers. (16)(U)

The Daily Worker had its origin in The Ohio Socialist, which first appeared in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1917. Later, the name of the paper was changed to The Toiler. The Worker, a weekly, succeeded The Toiler in 1923. The Worker was soon changed to a daily paper as a result of instructions received from the Communist International. (U)

In August, 1923, the chairman of the Communist International dispatched a letter to the Workers Party of America, by which name the Communist Party was then known. In this letter, he observed that it was a "most deplorable fact" that, while there were ten foreign-language communist dailies in the United States, there was no English-language communist daily newspaper in this country. The Comintern thereby (U)

instructed the Party to establish an English-language daily. (17) So important did the Comintern consider the formation of a daily paper that it furnished $35,000 for the purpose. Equally substantial subsidies were given by the Comintern to the Daily Worker in succeeding years to insure its survival.(U)

For many years, the Daily Worker received, without cost, printed matter worth approximately $25,000 annually from Pravda, Izvestia, and other Soviet publications. Most of these news releases and dispatches were supplied free of charge by Runag, the Russian news agency. This arrangement continued until 1941, when the Department of Justice ruled that such a setup made the Daily Worker an agent of the Soviet Government.(U)

The Daily Worker was published in Chicago from 1924 until 1927, when it moved, along with national Communist Party headquarters, to New York City. Since its beginning, the Daily Worker has been published by half a dozen different dummy companies. It is now published by a firm called Publishers New Press, Incorporated(U)

During the early life of the Daily Worker, it was acknowledged to be the official central organ of the Communist Party, USA, "a revolutionary paper" having as its frankly admitted objective "the overthrow of the existing(U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

capitalist system" and "the building of a Socialist society." (18) In August, 1940, however, the Communist Party disclaimed that the Daily Worker was the Party's official organ. (U)

The lack of popular appeal has long been a problem facing the Daily Worker. To give the paper more mass appeal, there have been changes, from time to time, in the format and content of the paper. In 1936, the Daily Worker dropped the symbol of the hammer and sickle from its masthead and, instead, proclaimed itself the "Peoples Champion of Liberty, Progress, Peace and Prosperity." In 1944, the publication was changed from a regular-sized newspaper to a tabloid. (U)

Periodic efforts have been made to simplify the communist jargon in the Daily Worker's columns to make the paper more readable. In recent years, in order to attract more readers, the paper has sought to include more items of human interest and to expand its sports coverage. (U)

The Worker appears in several editions--New York-Harlem, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois-DuSable, Michigan, and a national edition covering the rest of the country. The Worker consists of 16 pages; the first 14 pages are identical in all editions, but the last two pages in each edition contain local material. (U)

The Daily Worker and The Worker occasionally print special supplements dealing with current and controversial domestic and international issues. On May 19, 1957, for instance, The Worker carried a four-page supplement headed "Facts About the H-Bomb," which pointed out the alleged harmful effects of "fallout" on health. Extra copies of this supplement were printed and distributed by Communist Party members and sympathizers to "serve the cause of peace." (U)

The Daily Worker and The Worker conduct annual subscription campaigns to broaden their influence among the masses. These circulation drives are unfailingly given the Communist Party's full organizational and financial support and assistance. (U)

b. People's World

For readers on the west coast, the Communist Party publishes a weekly paper in San Francisco called the People's World. Like The Worker, its east coast counterpart, People's World prints and interprets only those events and issues which will further the communist movement. (U)

The People's World had its origin in the Western Worker, which first appeared in 1932 as the "Western Organ of the Communist Party." The name was changed to Daily People's World in 1938. The publication (U)

was put out by the California district of the Communist Party until 1941, but since then has been issued by a communist "paper" organization. In February, 1957, the publication was transformed into a weekly because of decreasing circulation and a corresponding lack of funds. (U)

c. Midwest Daily Record

For midwestern readers, the Communist Party once published a newspaper called the Midwest Daily Record. This publication experienced a brief life, commencing as a daily in 1938 and discontinuing as a weekly in 1940. (U)

2. Magazines

Communists have found the magazine particularly useful in their propaganda work, as it can be tailored to fit a specific audience. Since its origin, the American communist movement has published a number of magazines for all types of readers. (U)

a. Political Affairs

Almost equally as important as the Daily Worker to the Communist Party, USA, is the monthly theoretical magazine, Political Affairs, termed "the leading journal of Marxist thought and opinion in the United States." (19) (U)

Like the Daily Worker, Political Affairs has had several names and publishers since its founding in 1922. It started in Chicago as The Labor Herald, the official organ of the Trade-Union Educational League,* an early communist front organization. A few years later, it merged with Soviet Russia Pictorial and The Liberator to become The Workers Monthly. In 1927, it again changed its name and became The Communist. Later that same year, The Communist moved to New York City. In 1945, Political Affairs succeeded The Communist. (U)

The Communist was published by the Communist Party, USA, until 1942, when publication was assumed by Workers Library Publishers, a communist publishing company. After The Communist was changed to Political Affairs, in 1945, New Century Publishers became its publisher. New Century Publishers is, like its predecessor, Workers Library Publishers, a communist publishing firm.(U)

Political Affairs prints reports, resolutions, and statements of the Communist Party, USA, and communist parties abroad, as well as articles by leading American and foreign communists. Although primarily written for Party members, periodic attempts have been made(U)

*Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, prepared and released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, January 2, 1957, p. 83. (U)

to extend its circulation and influence beyond the membership of the Communist Party, USA. Thus, The Communist was converted into Political Affairs for the express purpose of increasing the publication's circulation. The change was intended to provide a Marxist periodical for those who desired to read such material but who were reluctant to receive through the mail or buy any printed matter with the name "communist" on it. At the same time, the magazine was reduced in size to a pocket-size publication and given a more attractive cover. (U)

In recent years, Political Affairs, in company with other communist publications, has resorted to the use of pseudonyms in an attempt to hide the true identity of the Party leaders who write for the publication. (U)

b. Mainstream

One of the principal communist publications is the monthly magazine, Mainstream, a lineal descendant of The Masses, which made its debut in 1911. Mainstream's appeal is oriented to intellectuals in order to furnish "Marxist initiative and leadership on the cultural front." (20) Communist themes are reflected in all its short stories, poems, articles, book reviews, and drawings. (U)

c. National Guardian

The National Guardian is a self-styled "progressive newsweekly" which first appeared in 1948. In its commentaries and articles on domestic and foreign affairs, National Guardian never fails to echo the Communist Party line. (U)

d. Other Periodicals

There have been few groups in American society that have not, at one time or another, been the propaganda target of some Party or communist front magazine. A few of the more important magazines will serve to illustrate the types of periodicals which have appeared under communist auspices over the years. (U)

Another magazine aimed at intellectuals is Science and Society, a quarterly which gives a Marxist interpretation to various social, economic, and political issues and events as they apply to the American scene. (U)

Articles pertaining to life in and accomplishments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Communist China, and other communist-ruled countries are contained in the procommunist monthly magazine, New World Review. This periodical was originally known as Soviet Russia Today. (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Jewish Life is a communist monthly magazine designed to propagandize American Jews by advancing "a Marxist understanding of the Jewish question." (21) (U)

Communist propaganda is directed at farmers through a monthly newsletter, Facts for Farmers, the Communist Party's voice on agricultural matters. This publication is put out by Farm Research, * a communist front organization. (U)

March of Labor, until its demise in early 1957, was a communist monthly magazine designed to appeal to the "active trade unionist." (U)

Freedom was a communist monthly devoted to Negro affairs. It ceased publication in the early part of 1957. Another Negro publication was Spotlight on Africa, now defunct, put out by the Council on African Affairs, ** a communist front. This magazine carried articles analyzing events in Africa. (U)

American youth has been propagandized by a succession of periodicals, such as the Young Worker, Champion, Young Communist Review, Clarity, AYD Spotlight, Youth, Teen Life, and New Challenge.

These magazines were published by the main communist youth organizations-- (U)

*Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, op, cit., p. 39.
**Designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (U)

Young Workers League,* Young Communist League,** American Youth for Democracy,** and Labor Youth League**which have existed in the United States during the past 35 years. (U)

Children were subjected to communist propaganda through the magazine, New Pioneer, put out by the Young Pioneers of America,*** which was the children's organization of the American communist movement before World War II.(U)

In the 1930's, various communist publications were aimed at the Armed Forces. Distributed in army camps and navy yards and on vessels on a service-wide basis were such publications as The Soldier's Voice, for soldiers; The Shipmate's Voice, for sailors; and Yard Voice, for navy yard workers. Another publication, called the Red Cadet, was directed at the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. (U)

3. Inner-Party Publications

In addition to publications prepared for sale to both Party members and nonmembers, the national committee and various national (U)

*Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, op. cit., p. 98.
**Designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
***Cited in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, prepared and released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 15, 1951, p. 126. (U)

departments and bodies of the Communist Party, USA, have, from time to time, issued a number of publications relating to particular fields of the Party's work. These include printed and mimeographed magazines, booklets, pamphlets, bulletins, newsletters, et cetera, which are circulated exclusively among the Party membership. (U)

Organizational problems of the Party were covered in a monthly organ called Party Organizer, issued by the national committee of the Communist Party, USA. Recruiting methods and educational procedures were recounted in Contact, a monthly publication of the national organization and education department. The national literature department at one time issued a monthly bulletin entitled Literature, which contained ideas and suggestions for improving the sale and distribution of Party literature. (U)

Prior to every national convention, a monthly Discussion Bulletin is circulated among members by the Communist Party, USA. Members submit articles and letters, based on a draft resolution of the national committee, as part of the preconvention discussion. The Discussion Bulletin played a prominent role in the discussions of Party members before the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, in February, 1957. (U)

B. District and Local Publications

1. District Publications

Many Communist Party district and state organizations have issued publications dealing with various phases of Party work on a district or state level for distribution to Party members. At the present time, a number of district and state organizations publish a monthly bulletin or newsletter on both ideological and practical aspects of Party activity. (U)

Party Voice, a monthly bulletin issued by the New York State Communist Party, is one such publication. It contains articles on Party organization, policies, tactics, et cetera. Since approximately half of the Communist Party's national membership is concentrated in New York State, Party Voice is an influential Party publication. (U)

A few similar periodicals published by Party districts elsewhere are: The Party Forum, in California; Viewpoint, in Wisconsin; Newsletter, in Colorado; and The New Jersey Party Life, in New Jersey. (U)

Other specialized publications for inner-Party consumption have been published by various district and state organizational units of the Party. Guide was a monthly bulletin put out by the Party's education department in New York State, containing material and items of interest (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

to club organizers and educational workers. State of Affairs, formerly issued by the legislative bureau of the Party in New York State, carried material interpreting legislative and political activities. Labor Bulletin, a publication of the Massachusetts Communist Party, dealt chiefly with union matters. (u)

A few publications have been put out by Communist Party districts primarily for non-Party readers. Farm Front, issued by the New York State farm council of the Communist Party, is an example of this sort of publication. It was distributed to farmers in New York State. Another was Grass Roots Outlook, prepared by a Party member in Minnesota and designed to interest farmers in that area. (u)

2. Local Publications

Some of the more important publications are issued by the Communist Party for distribution in the immediate locality in which they are published. For the most part, they consist of one, or a few, mimeographed pages, and many are issued irregularly due to limited funds. Some sell for one or two cents; others are distributed free. In a number of cases, only a few issues of these publications appear before they are discontinued entirely. These publications show the wide scope of this phase of Party (u)

activity on a local level and the significance the Party attaches to this type of propaganda work. (U)

a. Industry and Shop Papers

Among the most potent publications in the eyes of the Communist Party is the industry or shop paper published by the local Party unit in a given industry, factory, office, building, or institution. This type of publication is regarded as "the most effective instrument in the hand of the Unit" for agitation, propaganda, and organization. (22) (U)

Typical industry papers are the following: The High Carbon Truth, issued by the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, and The Furnace, published by the Communist Party of Lake County, Indiana, which are distributed to steelworkers; The Leaf, put out in Richmond, Virginia, which is aimed at tobacco workers; and Marker, issued in San Francisco, which is designed for building trades workers. (U)

For over 30 years, the Harvester Worker has been issued by the Communist Party in Chicago for employees of the International Harvester Company; Plane Talk is published for personnel of the Republic Aviation Corporation in Farmingdale, New York; Sparkplug is disseminated in Cleveland, Ohio, to employees in a spark plug plant. (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

A number of office, building, and institution papers have been distributed by Party units. Some of those issued in New York City in the past have been: The X-Ray, to employees of Bellevue Hospital; The Staff, to the teaching personnel of Brooklyn College; The Challenge, to employees of Evander Childs High School; and State Building News, to workers in the New York State Office Building. (U)

Even the Armed Forces have not been overlooked by local communist propagandists. One of the first regular communist publications distributed to units of the armed services was the Fort Snelling Rapid Fire at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. It appeared in 1928. Another was the Camp Plattsburg Rebel, circulated in the Citizens' Military Training Camp at Camp Plattsburg, New York. (U)

b. Neighborhood Papers

In addition to industry and shop papers, Communist Party units, communist front organizations, and individual Party members and sympathizers print neighborhood papers as media of agitation and propaganda. (U)

With the increased cost of living following World War II, numerous tenants' and consumers' papers made their appearance, particularly in large apartment developments in big cities. These publications have mouthed the Party line advocating lower rents and prices. (U)

The question of peace also has been extensively propagandized through neighborhood papers. Flashlight, for example, was a monthly publication issued by a communist peace group in California, while Peace News was another monthly paper put out by a communist peace organization in the same State. (U)

C. Foreign-Language Publications

Supplementing the communist English-language publications, the Party line is parroted in a number of foreign-language publications directed toward practically every major foreign-language group in the United States. Publications under the control or influence of the Communist Party are printed in a dozen different languages, including Yiddish, Polish, German, Finnish, Greek, and Bulgarian. The importance of this segment of the Party press is readily apparent when it is realized that a foreign-language publication may be the only paper which some individuals read. (U)

Among the foreign-language dailies and weeklies now being published under the aegis of the Communist Party are the following: Morning Freiheit (Yiddish), China Daily News (Chinese), The German-American (German), Glos Ludowy (Polish), Russky Golos (Russian), Svlesa (Lithuanian), Ukrainian Daily News (Ukrainian), and Nova Doba (Czechoslovakian). (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

IV. BOOKS

Books afford communists an excellent vehicle for spreading communist propaganda among Party members and noncommunists. Ranging from the Marxist-Leninist classics for Party members to fairy tales for children, they are written for all types of audiences. (U)

A. Marxist-Leninist Classics

Marxism-Leninism is expressed and developed in a vast body of writings by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V. I. Lenin, and Joseph Stalin. The works of these four men are called the Marxist-Leninist classics and are considered to be the "theoretical arsenal" of communist literature. Every member of the Communist Party is expected to study these classics. Their purpose is "to inflame the party member with zeal, to provide him with the ideas that will confirm his devotion to the cause, and to steel him for the objective of overthrowing the government of his country." (23) (U)

Various editions of collected and selected works of the "great" Marxists--Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, plus Mao Tse-tung--have been published in the United States as expensive hard-backed books or as inexpensive paper-backed booklets. The Little Lenin Library and the Little (U)

Marx Library series are representative of such publications. Numerous editions of individual books by these and other Marxists have also been printed. (U)

The basic list of Marxist-Leninist classics for Party members contains about 50 classics, including such renowned works as the following: Marx' Capital, Value, Price and Profit, and Wage-Labour and Capital; Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto; Lenin's Imperialism, "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, Letter to American Workers, State and Revolution, and The Teachings of Karl Marx; Stalin's Marxism vs. Liberalism, Foundations of Leninism, and Dialectical Materialism. (U)

B. Communist Countries

From the time of the Bolshevik Revolution 40 years ago, a great many books written by Americans and others eulogizing the "great experiment" in Russia, the "new" China, and the "people's democracies" of Eastern Europe have been published in the United States. From the pens of such Soviet apologists as John Reed, Albert Rhys Williams, Lincoln Steffens, Sherwood Eddy, John Strachey, Ella Winter, Anna Louise Strong, and Hewlett Johnson have come books ranging from "rationalization and self-deception to deliberate concealment." (24) (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

One of the first books on the USSR was John Reed's Ten Days That Shook the World, an eyewitness account of the Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917. Reed, an American journalist and outstanding figure in the early days of American communism, went to Russia during the Revolution. The drama of this historic event made a deep impression on him, for it was the realization of his dreams and his hopes for a socialist Utopia. Within the short space of three years, however, Reed was to become disillusioned with communism. He died a broken man in 1920 and was buried in the Kremlin wall as the first great American communist hero. (25) (U)

The Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, dubbed the "Red" Dean of Canterbury because of his pro-Soviet views, has written a number of books favorable to world communism. His first two books--The Soviet Power and The Secret of Soviet Strength--which appeared in the early 1940's, sold widely. They tell of the sources of Russian political, economic, and military might. In Soviet Russia Since the War, Johnson details Soviet achievements after World War II. In another book, Eastern Europe in the Socialist World, he relates successes in the communist-ruled countries of Eastern Europe. His latest book, China's New Creative Age, describes the progress made by communists since they gained power in China. (U)

In 1947, William Z. Foster, then national chairman of the Communist Party, USA, spent three months traveling in Europe, visiting, among other places, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Upon his return to the United States, Foster wrote The New Europe, a book lavish in its praise of the "new socialist democracies" in Europe. (U)

C. United States

Communists have been equally prolific in publishing books pertaining to the American scene and conditions. Nearly every facet of American history and civilization has been subjected to a "Marxist analysis" by communist writers. The American labor movement is accorded a Marxist version in History of the Labor Movement in the United States. Minority groups have been treated in such books as The Negro People in American History and Jews in American History. The story of the communist movement in this country is told in William Z. Foster's History of the Communist Party of the United States. (U)

No opportunity is overlooked by communist authors to portray conditions in this country in the most unsavory and uncomplimentary fashion. A study of how Wall Street "strives" for "world economic and political (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

domination" is "shown" in American Imperialism. American agricultural problems and their causes are "explained" in Why Farmers are Poor. An "expose" of the fascist forces in the United States is presented in The Peril of Fascism. (U)

Communists are quick to adopt the writings or speeches of noncommunists if they will further their revolutionary aims. By way of illustration, a communist edited a series of booklets called Builders of the American Nation, comprising selections from the writings and speeches of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, Abraham Lincoln, and other famous Americans. The excerpts, of course, have been carefully chosen. The views and comments of these great men on foreign policy, their social outlook, and their cultural roots among the people are highlighted to serve communist propaganda ends. (U)

D. Art, Music, and Literature

Books about art, music, and literature have likewise received the communist propagandist's touch. In Art and Society, the author discusses the "relation" of art to social needs. How Music Expresses Ideas traces the "relationship" between the composer and the social struggles of his time. Literature and Reality studies the "bankruptcy of bourgeois literature." (U)

Communists like to refer to Walt Whitman as the "people's poet." In 1955, a communist publishing house commemorated the 100th anniversary of Whitman's Leaves of Grass by issuing a new edition of Walt Whitman: Poet of American Democracy, the work of a communist writer. (U)

Fiction has been utilized by communists in their propaganda to glorify communism and life in the Soviet Union and other communist-ruled countries, as well as to derogate capitalism and conditions in the United States. The heroism of Russian workers during the Bolshevik Revolution is the theme of The Making of a Hero. The life and struggle of people in Communist China are depicted in the novel, Daughters and Sons. Conditions in the United States are found "intolerable" in books such as Jews Without Money, a "classic of life, poverty, and struggle in New York's East Side"; The Cock's Funeral, containing stories of the land and the struggles of farmers; and Conveyor, a novel about the hard lives of the automobile workers. (U)

Two recent novels by communist writers are The Un-American, by Alvah Bessie, and A Long Day in a Short Life, by Albert Maltz. Both Bessie and Maltz are long-time members of the Communist Party. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

The Un-American concerns two American journalists who joined the Communist Party as a result of their experiences during the Spanish Civil War. The climax is reached a decade later when one testifies against the other in a perjury prosecution following the appearance of both before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (U)

A Long Day in a Short Life has as its central theme the fight against race bias, as it unfolds in a single day in a Washington, D. C., prison. (U)

E. Children's Books

Perhaps the cleverest and most dangerous propaganda injected into communist books is that to be found in those written for children. In the early days of the American communist movement, a popular children's book was Fairy Tales for Workers' Children, translated from the German. The stories show the extremes of work and idleness. All the evil characters are rich people. (U)

In 1935, the Reverend William Montgomery Brown, a former Episcopal minister who had embraced communism and was defrocked for doing so, published a book called Teachings of Marx for Girls and Boys. (U)

In this book, Brown explains the Marxist dogma in simple language. He maintains that every nation must accept and follow Marxist doctrines before there can be a better world. (U)

Brown had written an earlier book for adults entitled Communism and Christianism in which he advocated an abandonment of Christianity for communism. At his death in 1937, Brown left an estate estimated at between $300,000 and $400,000. It is said that $250,000 of this sum ultimately found its way to the Daily Worker. (U)

Since 1945, International Publishers, a communist publishing house, has put out a series of books for children called Young World Books in an effort to bring to children a Marxist interpretation of science, history, and geography. These books glorify the USSR and picture the happy lot of Soviet children, while giving the familiar unfavorable propaganda twist to the life of children in the United States. (U)

Most of the Young World Books originate in the United States, but some have been translations from the Russian. Two of the most popular Young World Books have been Climbing Our Family Tree: How Living Things Change and Develop, a Marxist view of evolution and society, (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

and How the Automobile Learned To Run, the story of transportation which contains warm praise for Soviet production.

F. Other Books (U)

In addition to the subject matter already mentioned, other books have been published bearing the stamp of the communist propagandist and covering a wide assortment of topics--politics, economics, social problems, world affairs, philosophy, science, and Negroes. Biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, and collections of speeches have also come off the communist press. (U)

Examples are countless. Dialectical Materialism is a study of the "science" of Marxism-Leninism; Israel in Crisis is a Marxist commentary on the new State of Israel; War Economy and Crisis is a survey of the American economy since World War II and the effects of military expenditures; Revolution in Philosophy shows the "relationship" of philosophy to the class struggle; Atomic Energy and Society discusses the potentialities of atomic energy for constructive purposes; The Negro in Southern Agriculture claims that the plantation system and sharecropping are still the dominant features of southern agriculture; The Truth About Hungary purports to give the "true facts" concerning the Hungarian Rebellion of October, 1956. (U)

Biographies and personal recollections have always been very popular among communist publishers. Robert Minor: Artist and Crusader is the biography of a communist leader who died in 1952; Pages from a Worker's Life is the autobiography of William Z. Foster, who is now chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA; and Letters from Prison consists of the correspondence from Eugene Dennis, current national affairs secretary of the Communist Party, USA, to his wife and young son during his imprisonment following his conviction under the Smith Act* in 1949. (U)

In the past, not a little favorable publicity for procommunist and pro-Soviet books has come from book reviewers of the noncommunist press. Several authorities on propaganda claim that, from the mid-1930's to 1950, the book critics of a number of leading noncommunist newspapers and magazines were either procommunist or pro-Soviet. Consequently, books by leftist or pro-Soviet writers were given undue praise, while those by noncommunists or anticommunists were either criticized or ignored. (26) (27)(U)

The books that have been enumerated by title in the preceding pages are but a mere fraction of the sum total of the books that communists (U)

*The Smith Act, which was passed by Congress in 1940, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the United States Government by force or violence.(U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

or communist sympathizers have had published in the last 38 years. A recent catalogue of one of the principal publishers of communist books in the United States lists over 200 books. (U)

V. PAMPHLETS

A. Popularity

The pamphlet, quickly produced, inexpensively priced, and simply written, has always been a popular and potent instrument of propaganda. The pamphlet, which is commonly meant to be ephemeral, is designed for mass distribution and is used for purposes to which a newspaper or magazine cannot be adapted. (U)

During the 1930's, communist pamphlets were rather comprehensive treatments of Marxism-Leninism and the role of the Communist Party. About ten pamphlets were published each year in a total volume of several hundred thousand copies, selling for 20 or 25 cents each. (U)

Shortly after the beginning of the Depression, however, the Party recognized the tremendous propaganda value of pamphlets. Communists popularized their pamphlets by discussing problems of the day, such as relief, unemployment insurance, et cetera. This literature was shortened and given catchy titles having more appeal. The price was reduced, with the majority of the pamphlets selling for one or two cents. Where before the Depression the Party had been issuing ten pamphlets a year, in the mid-1930's it was publishing 60 pamphlets in a volume of several million copies.(28)(29)(U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

B. Types

There are four types of pamphlets utilized by the Communist Party--agitational, propaganda, theoretical, and organizational. (U)

1. Agitational Pamphlets

Agitational pamphlets are aimed "to arouse people to action, to stir their minds" on vital, everyday issues and problems. (30) A few representative agitational pamphlets which have been published bear such titles as The Truth About Guatemala, Farm Crisis, Hold That Rent Ceiling, Meat--A National Scandal, and Out of a Job. (U)

The communist agitational pamphlet is a clever piece of propaganda. Topics and titles are carefully selected to enhance their appeal. In 1946, when World War II veterans were readjusting themselves to civilian life, the national veterans commission of the Communist Party, USA, published a pamphlet called Who Ruptured Our Duck? Communist propagandists frequently take popular slogans or titles and adapt them to their own propaganda needs. Thus, the title of the famous motion picture The Best Years of Our Lives became The Best Years of Their Lives as a communist pamphlet opposing universal military training. The safe-driving warning "The Life You Save May Be Your Own" was adapted to a pamphlet called The Rights You Save May Be Your Own, which urged the defeat of anticommunist legislation. (U)

2. Propaganda Pamphlets

Pamphlets which the Party terms propaganda pamphlets are calculated "to help the militant, conscious worker to understand and answer questions raised about any particular issue or event." (31) Many speeches, radio broadcasts, letters from prison, and statements before congressional committees and courts by prominent communist leaders are later incorporated in propaganda pamphlets. (U)

Since World War II, communists have made extensive use of propaganda pamphlets to defend the Communist Party, USA, as a legitimate "American" political party with no Soviet ties. The Party has waged a bitter fight against anticommunist legislation and unfavorable judicial decisions through such pamphlets as Is Communism Un-American?, Who Are the Foreign Agents?, Eugene Dennis Indicts Wall Street Conspirators, and Why Defend Rights of Communists? (U)

3. Theoretical Pamphlets

Theoretical pamphlets are usually low-priced reprints in pamphlet form of specific Marxist-Leninist classics and the more comprehensive and deeper works of communist leaders on economic, historical, political, and philosophical subjects. Examples of theoretical (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

pamphlets are: Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, Building Socialism in the Soviet Union, Marx and the East, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Correspondence of Marx and Engels. (U)

4. Organizational Pamphlets

A fourth type of pamphlet is the organizational pamphlet, which is prepared specifically for Communist Party members and deals strictly with Party affairs. This type is exemplified in such pamphlets as Lenin on Organization, Party Building and Political Leadership, Manual for Community Club Leaders, and Shop Paper Manual. (U)

VI. LEAFLETS

A. Value

The leaflet--also known as a handbill, folder, dodger, throwaway, flyer, or circular--has been a prime tool of the propagandist ever since printing became an important medium. The convenience, adaptability, and low cost of the leaflet make it an efficient and effective channel of agitation and propaganda. (U)

The leaflet is especially well suited to the communist goal of stimulating the masses into action. A leaflet can be swiftly prepared, speedily printed in large quantities, and rapidly and widely circulated. It can be varied in form and size, and adapted to many occasions. Most important, however, because a leaflet is produced cheaply, it can be distributed free. (U)

B. Types

Communist leaflets can be classified into two types--agitational leaflets that aim "to rouse the workers to some immediate action" and propaganda leaflets designed "to explain, clarify and educate." (U)

An agitational leaflet is illustrated by a circular which the Young Communist League disseminated in the Norfolk, Virginia, area in 1929. The (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

handbill was addressed to "Marines, Sailors, Workers in Uniform!" It urged them not to be "tools of Wall Street and murderers of workers in Haiti," but to "follow the example of the Russian workers in 1917 and establish a workers government." (u)

A typical propaganda leaflet is that entitled Who Threatens Democracy? Let's Look at Facts--Not Propaganda, issued by the Communist Party of Illinois-Indiana in March, 1957. This leaflet criticizes the jailing of communists under the Smith Act and recounts incidents of violence against Negroes in the South. (u)

C. Content

So important is the leaflet to the Party's propaganda activities that manuals and articles have been written and classes conducted on how to prepare a good leaflet. Leaflet writers are told that the Communist Party must react quickly to everything that rouses feeling among the masses and it must "strike while the iron is hot." Brevity is stressed, since leaflets are admittedly "read on the run." If the message requires more than a few pages, it is recommended that a pamphlet, instead of a leaflet, be prepared. (u)

In writing a communist leaflet, the author is instructed to make it short, attractive, and interesting in order to heighten its appeal and attract the attention of the recipient. Headings are worded and arranged in such a manner as to immediately arouse the reader and excite his curiosity. Besides careful preparation of headings, much attention is given to the size, layout, and color of the leaflet. Illustrations and cartoons are frequently used. (U)

The content of the leaflet is considered as important as its outward appearance. Communist leaflet writers are cautioned to emphasize only one major point to avoid confusing the reader. If the Party desires to develop or exploit other issues, it is expected to do so by preparing additional leaflets. During one strike, for instance, a local Party unit issued 26 leaflets and bulletins in a 30-day period. (U)

Courses on leaflet writing stress that a leaflet should contain a good "punch line"; that is, the leaflet should end with a "call for action" by clearly informing readers just what they are asked to do and how they can do it. Writers are reminded that a leaflet should link the main issue--a wage cut, an impending layoff, or a speed-up--with the problem on (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

a broader scale and provide a "program of action." In the "program of action" set forth at the end of the leaflet, workers are urged to join some organization, to support a campaign, to strike, to demonstrate, or the (u) like.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS PRINTED MATTER

Printed propaganda of the communist movement is not confined to its newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, and leaflets. Communist propaganda is also conveyed by such miscellaneous printed material as posters, banners, placards, stickers, calendars, greeting cards, and newspaper advertisements. (U)

A. Posters and Stickers

Posters, billboards, and window cards have been found by communists to be valuable ways of spreading their propaganda. Such items are pasted on the walls of buildings, attached to telephone poles, mounted on the sides of trucks and automobiles, and placed in store windows. Banners and placards are carried in parades, strikes, marches, picket lines, and other forms of outdoor demonstrations and are used for decorations at indoor and outdoor mass meetings. All these types of printed matter carry popular communist slogans, demands, and protests of the day. (U)

Communist propaganda messages and slogans have been painted on sidewalks and walls and printed on stickers. During the early days of the Korean War, a communist sticker calling for "Hands Off Korea and All of Asia" and for "Ban A-Bomb--Sign World Peace Appeal" was found inside a carton by a citizen in a southern state. The box had been shipped from a large New York City department store. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

B. Calendars and Greeting Cards

Communist propaganda is embodied in calendars and greeting cards sold at communist bookstores. Communists used to sell calendars bearing the portraits of such communist leaders as Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Earl Browder, and William Z. Foster. In advertising a Lenin calendar some years ago, the Daily Worker maintained that "No Communist Home Can Be Without a Red Calendar." (32) In recent years, the Party line has crept into "peace" calendars which communist front organizations have offered for sale. (U)

Although most communists are antireligious, the practice of sending Christmas cards is quite common among them. Such cards invariably contain a social, economic, or political message of some sort. In recent years, communists have capitalized on the peace theme of Christmas in their cards. One Christmas card by a well-known communist artist showed youngsters representing all races marching arm in arm under the caption "Peace on Earth." Another card revealed a dove of peace carrying in its beak two ribbons, one labeled "Peace on Earth" and the other "Good Will Toward Men." (U)

A Christmas card dropped in quantity behind the American lines by Chinese communists in 1951 during the Korean War was titled "Greetings from The Chinese People's Volunteers--Korea 1951." To the card was attached a color photograph of four persons vacationing in Florida, with this caption: "Mr. Moneybags is in Florida this Christmas." Below, for comparison, appeared a black-and-white picture depicting American soldiers trudging along a Korean hillside, under which were these words: "Where are you? In Korea! You risk your life, Big Business rakes in the dough." (U)

C. Newspaper Advertisements

Paid advertisements in noncommunist newspapers are used by the Communist Party, communist front organizations, and communist-dominated trade-unions in some of their more important propaganda campaigns. In the Spring of 1947, for instance, when the Communist Party, USA, was concerned over legislative attempts to ban it, the Party countered by pleading its case in full-page advertisements in newspapers having a combined circulation of approximately 10,000,000. The Sun, of Baltimore, and The Washington Post were typical of the newspapers in which the Communist Party placed advertisements. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Newspaper advertising was widely used by communists in the campaign to save Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs had been convicted of conspiring to commit atomic espionage for the Soviet Union. During the period 1951-1953, some 250 separate advertisements on behalf of the Rosenbergs appeared in various noncommunist newspapers throughout the country. (U)

The Communist Party sought to reap propaganda benefit from the severe floods which ravaged Connecticut in the Fall of 1955. The Party inserted advertisements in half a dozen leading noncommunist newspapers in that State setting forth its program for flood control and tax relief. The communist proposals were calculated to appeal to flood victims and low-income groups. (U)

The Liberty Book Club, a communist-operated book club, ran a full-page advertisement in The New York Times in April, 1956. While a description of new books appeared in this advertisement, the communist backgrounds of the authors were naturally ignored. One of the books advertised was Paris to Peking, by Joseph Starobin, but no mention was made that the author had been foreign affairs editor and correspondent for the (U)

Daily Worker. A reader of the advertisement would not know that Richard O. Boyer, one of the authors of Labor's Untold Story, has been a long-time contributor to a number of communist publications. Fragments of an Interview with Freud, also advertised, was written by Dr. Joseph Wortis. The unsuspecting reader would be unaware that Dr. Wortis has continuously praised Soviet psychiatry in strict accordance with the twists and turns of Moscow's official line. (U)

International Publishers, one of the Communist Party's two main publishing houses in the United States, has similarly advertised its books in leading noncommunist newspapers. An advertisement in the New York Herald Tribune in February, 1951, referred to seven new books published by International Publishers. The word "communism" appeared nowhere in the advertisement. Unless the reader was familiar with the publisher or the backgrounds of the authors, there would be no way of knowing that the books advertised were of communist origin. (U)

Birth announcements and congratulatory notices are frequently published in the Daily Worker. Even these contain communist propaganda. One message of congratulation to a communist couple read "thanks for swelling our ranks." Another offered congratulations on the birth of a son, "who will live to see a socialist America." (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

VIII. PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

Virtually all of the printed propaganda of the Communist Party, USA, originates in New York City, the Party's publishing center. From these communist publishing outlets comes a never-ending stream of new communist books and pamphlets of all sorts, as well as reprints of the major writings of leading American and foreign communists. (U)

A. International Publishers

International Publishers is the Communist Party's chief book-publishing firm, although it does print some pamphlets. International Publishers was founded in 1924 for the primary purpose of publishing communist books and pamphlets for sale in the United States. In the early days of its existence, most of the manuscripts were supplied by Moscow. Many of the books were printed in either Russia or England and shipped to the United States in sheets to be bound here. This method avoided the high printing costs and duties in this country and actually amounted to a subsidy from abroad. (33)(U)

International Publishers has published the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and other famous foreign communists, along with (U)

the books of leading American communists. International Publishers also puts out Young World Books, which are "Marxist books for young people." The head of this company is Alexander Trachtenberg, long active in the Communist Party, USA, who was convicted in 1953 for violation of the Smith Act. (U)

During the period 1948-1953, International Publishers published an average of 30 items a year. Of these, 58 were new books, 79 were reprints, and 27 were new pamphlets. The new books were printed in copies totaling 380,000 and the pamphlets in copies totaling 215,000. (U)

B. New Century Publishers

Workers Library Publishers was established in 1927 by the Communist Party, USA, specifically to publish pamphlets. In addition, Workers Library Publishers published The Communist, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA. In 1945, Workers Library Publishers was succeeded by New Century Publishers, which continues to be the principal communist pamphlet-publishing house. This firm prints some books and also publishes and distributes Political Affairs and Mainstream. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

C. Other Publishing Houses

There are a number of other publishing houses, operated by Communist Party members, which publish books popular in communist circles. Most of them are located in New York City. One of the most prominent is Cameron Associates. This firm publishes inexpensive paper-backed and hard-backed books on favorite communist subjects. The company was originally formed by Albert E. Kahn and Angus Cameron, both of whom have been reported as members of the Communist Party. Cameron was formerly editor in chief of Little, Brown and Company, the famous and respectable Boston publishing house. (U)

Other communist-operated book-publishing firms include the Sierra Press, Blue Heron Press, Mainstream Publishers, Independence Publishers, and Fairplay Publishers. (U)

The Sierra Press, in 1957, issued an anthology of poetry called The Rosenbergs: Poems of the United States, consisting of poems written during and since the Rosenberg campaign. The Blue Heron Press is owned by Howard Fast and has published many of the novels that have come from his pen. Fast was long a favorite author of the American communist (U)

movement until he became disillusioned with and left the Communist Party early in 1957, as a result of the Stalin revelations in the Soviet Union. (U)

D. Printing Establishments

Practically all of the printed material prepared under the auspices of the national organization of the Communist Party, USA, is printed by three communist-controlled printing firms in New York City--F & D Printing Company, Prompt Press, and New Union Press. The F & D Printing Company prints the Daily Worker, The Worker, and Morning Freiheit. Nearly all the material published by International Publishers and New Century Publishers is printed by Prompt Press. The output of New Union Press is devoted to rally pamphlets and leaflets, stationery for the Daily Worker, and occasionally communist books. (U)

Local Party organizations and communist front groups either control or have access to the printing facilities of a number of printing firms scattered throughout the country in such cities as Boston, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. (U)

In addition to the establishments which do printing work, the Communist Party makes wide use of the mimeograph. Almost (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

all of the papers and leaflets issued on a local level are mimeographed. Although some of these machines are the property of the local Party organizations, in many cases the equipment belongs to communist front groups, communist-controlled labor unions, or individual Party members or sympathizers. The Party also possesses some secret printing and mimeograph equipment to be operated clandestinely in the event the Communist Party, USA, finds it necessary to go underground again. (U)

IX. DISTRIBUTION METHODS

A. Party Organizations

One of the major tasks always emphasized by the Communist Party, USA, is the fulfillment of its slogan, "Reach the Millions With Our Literature." The circulation of literature is viewed as "a task of honor and central importance for every member." (34) The dissemination of literature is regarded as so vital to the communist movement that failure to engage in this activity is considered inexcusable. Gus Hall, when he was national secretary of the Communist Party, USA, several years ago, stated that "no club, no section committee, no functionary of our Party can be excused from the duty of doing something every day to guarantee the circulation of press and literature." (35) (U)

Literature distribution is, therefore, a basic part of the work of Party organizations. Inasmuch as the bulk of the Party's press and literature is distributed through Party organizations, the Party on all levels devotes much time, energy, and thought to ways and means of increasing and improving the dissemination of its literature. (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Insofar as the Party's newspapers and magazines are concerned, some readers receive their copies through the mail. Others pick them up at newsstands which carry them in the larger cities. Many copies are delivered by hand by Communist Party members to those individuals who are reluctant to receive or purchase communist publications openly. Under this system, publications are delivered in a bundle to a trusted Party member. Members of the Party's literature apparatus then personally distribute copies to others. In some districts, the ultimate recipient is notified in code that the publication has arrived and is ready for distribution. (U)

Other communist literature, such as books and pamphlets, is for sale at Communist Party headquarters, at meetings of Communist Party clubs and communist front organizations, and at communist bookstores. (U)

Much of the Party's printed propaganda is prepared for consumption by noncommunists and, consequently, the Party uses every conceivable device to place it in their hands. There is almost no limit to the methods employed by communists to disseminate leaflets and pamphlets. Literature has been surreptitiously left in such places as street cars, busses, and parked automobiles; in books on the shelves of public libraries; (U)

and in the magazine racks of reading rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association. Literature has been thrown into front yards and onto porches of dwellings at night, placed in the letter boxes and under the doors of private homes and apartment houses, handed out on street corners at busy intersections and outside factory gates, and mailed at random or to selected individuals. (U)

Some years ago, Party members in one district spent their summer vacations operating a "literature caravan." An automobile was equipped with racks to hold books, pamphlets, and periodicals; and members traveled about selling literature to residents of small towns and farmers in rural areas. (U)

In 1932, mimeographed leaflets entitled Down With the Imperialist War were dropped from an airplane which flew over a stadium in Berkeley, California, where 70,000 persons were watching a service football game and military spectacle. (U)

A similar stunt was practiced four years later when an airplane scattered communist leaflets over an army camp at Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania, where 30,000 National Guard troops had gathered (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

for their summer encampment. These leaflets urged the soldiers to "organize and fight for your rights; demand the right to organize committees to direct your activities; ask $30 a month pay instead of $21, and request the War Department not to use the Guards or Army in domestic uprisings." (36) (U)

During the late 1930's and 1940's, a courier service existed in the American merchant marine among Communist Party members of several maritime unions. By means of this courier system, large quantities of communist literature were placed in ships' libraries and disseminated to Communist Parties in various American possessions--Hawaii, Canal Zone, et cetera. (U)

The distribution of communist literature recognizes no geographical bounds. Communist literature is disseminated anywhere it will create unrest and discontentment with the capitalist system and the United States Government. A pamphlet, Terror at Trumball, which exploits a racial incident in a Chicago housing development, was distributed as far away as New England. A pamphlet on the alleged Mississippi murder of a 14-year-old Negro named Emmett Louis Till was distributed by the Communist Party throughout the entire country. (U)

B. Bookstores

Although bookstores are not the main avenue of literature distribution, they do play a prominent part in the Party's literature-distribution apparatus. Primarily, of course, they provide a public outlet for the sale of books, periodicals, and pamphlets. Moreover, bookstores also serve as meeting places for groups of individuals for social activities and for informal discussions of current events. Others have become cultural centers by organizing forums and symposiums for the review of books and the exhibition of films. (U)

Communist bookshops have been maintained in most of the major cities of the United States at one time or another. About 1935, the Communist Party established a number of large and small bookstores. Soon, in 45 cities there were over 60 bookstores and literature-distribution centers with Marxist literature for sale. (U)

Today, there are communist bookstores in a dozen leading cities throughout the country. They bear names long favored by communists, such as the Jefferson Bookshop in New York City, World Wide Book Shop in Baltimore, Modern Book Store in Chicago, International Book Store in San Francisco, and Progressive Bookshop in Los Angeles. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

C. Book Clubs

In recent years, communists have resorted to book clubs as a means of distributing their printed propaganda products. The Liberty Book Club is one of them. It was established in 1948 at the suggestion of the New York State committee of the Communist Party in order to facilitate wide distribution of the works of communist and other "progressive" writers. Most of the authors of the book selections of this club have extensive communist histories. The club claims to have 8,000 members. (U)

Codirectors of the Liberty Book Club are Angus Cameron, previously identified as head of the book-publishing house of Cameron Associates, and Carl Marzani. Marzani was convicted in 1947 for concealing his membership in the Communist Party while employed by the United States Government. (U)

Another communist book club is the Union Book Club, founded in 1953 as an adjunct of Cameron Associates. The club makes available newly published books, at nominal prices, to trade-union members and "progressive" organizations. (U)

X. VOLUME

A. Peak

A communist official once said: "We probably circulate more literature per member of our organization by ten times than any other organization in existence." (37) Even this is an understatement, for the American communist movement has disseminated a veritable flood of literature over the years. During the period from 1928 to 1956, for instance, communists in the United States annually published an average of 32 pamphlets for a 28-year total of nearly 50,000,000 pamphlets. (U)

It is not possible to select a particular year as the one in which the communist press and publications in this country reached their zenith. The Daily Worker attained its peak in 1931, when it had a daily circulation of over 41,000. For the Daily People's World, the high point did not come until 1947, when it reached 16,000 copies daily. (U)

The tremendous growth of the communist press in the United States can be shown, however, in comparing the number of communist publications in existence in 1921 with those which existed in 1940. In 1921, only 14 publications, plus several foreign-language papers, were published; (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

by 1940, the Communist Party, USA, was reported to have had over 600 newspapers, magazines, and other publications at its command. (U)

The greatest pamphlet-publishing year was 1940, when 46 separate pamphlets were printed with a total volume of approximately 4,675,000. Over a million copies of some of the more popular pamphlets have been published. Many of the pamphlets have sold for a cent or two, while some have been given away in an effort to place them in as many hands as possible. (U)

In both the 1936 and 1940 election campaigns, the Communist Party distributed close to 2,000,000 copies of its election platforms. The 1940 platform was printed in English, Jewish, Italian, Spanish, and Polish. (U)

Of 3,000,000 pamphlets published in 1948, approximately 2,000,000 were in defense of the Communist Party, USA, and were distributed free. These included 200,000 copies of Is Communism Un-American?, 350,000 copies of What Do the Communists Really Want?, and 500,000 copies of Who Are the Foreign Agents? (U)

With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and its loyalty oath provision, the Party published 700,000 copies of the pamphlet Workers, Defend Your Union! Following the indictment and arrest of the 12 communist (U)

leaders in 1948 for trial under the Smith Act, The Twelve and You was placed on the market; and 1,000,000 copies of the pamphlet. Eugene Dennis Indicts Wall Street Conspirators were printed. The most popular pamphlet in 1949 was Why Defend Rights of Communists? The advent of the Korean War in 1950 prompted the Communist Party to rush to print over 400,000 copies of Hands Off Korea and Formosa. (U)

One of the biggest publishing efforts of the Party in recent years was the circulation of its 1954 program. Some 1,000,000 copies of this program, entitled The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights, and Democracy, were printed. (U)

The amount of communist literature that has been disseminated in a brief period of time is stupendous. During the 1936 election campaign, the national campaign committee of the Communist Party, USA, distributed nearly 3,000,000 pieces of literature. This figure does not include the enormous quantities of other booklets, leaflets, and cards which were distributed in every city and state where the Party carried on active election campaigns. Nor does it take into account the thousands of posters, billboards, and placards which were brought into play by the Communist Party during its local campaigns. (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

When the Communist Party, USA, attempted to counter legislative proposals by the Federal Government to curb the Communist Party in the Spring of 1947, it distributed over 4,500,000 leaflets in the short space of two months. During the period from November, 1951, to August, 1953, approximately 6,000,000 leaflets and pamphlets were disseminated by communists in their exploitation of the Rosenberg case. Given any semblance of a cause, communists will issue and distribute literature in prodigious quantities. (U)

Books have also been published in great numbers. By 1939, International Publishers was publishing an average of 50 books a year, some of which had sales of 100,000. In the 1940's, International Publishers produced several 100,000-editions of Marxist-Leninist classics alone. More than 1,500,000 copies of the Dean of Canterbury's book, The Soviet Power, were sold. (U)

B. Decline

The crisis and decline of the communist press in the United States mirror the crisis and decline of the American communist movement generally since the late 1940's when the Federal Government, the noncommunist press, and the American public began to recognize the menace of communism and undertook vigorous steps to combat it. From that time on, the sale and (U)

distribution of communist literature have been marked by a steady decrease. By reason of plummeting circulation and lack of funds, the Daily Worker and The Worker are today engaged in a critical struggle for survival; the Marxist foreign-language press is in a precarious condition; and the Daily People's World has been compelled to change to a weekly. This state of affairs has caused grave concern to the Communist Party and led the Party's national committee to admit that "the Marxist press is in jeopardy." (38) (U)

To the extent that communist literature is reaching fewer people than it did in the heyday of the American communist movement, communist printed propaganda is less influential at the present time than it has been in the past. If funds and circulation are used as a criterion, the communist press and publications are now in a desperate situation--the worst in their history. But falling circulation and lack of funds are not new problems to communist propagandists. They have operated under adverse and critical conditions during practically the entire history of the American communist movement, but somehow the communist press has continued to function. When funds are lacking, publication is suspended for a period of time or the publication is reduced in size. When money is available, normal publication is resumed. If one publication is discontinued, another one usually takes its place. (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

In the past 38 years, millions of Americans have been exposed, at one time or another, to the printed propaganda of the Communist Party, USA. The Communist Party is making--and will continue to make--strenuous and unceasing efforts to revitalize its press and publications in order to reassert its power and influence over the American people via the printed word. (U)

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

SOURCES

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1947), Vol. 7, pp. 343-344, Vol. 8, pp. 427-428, Vol. 17, pp. 32-33, Vol. 18, p. 499. (U)

2. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works (New York: International Publishers, 1943), Vol. II, p. 21. (U)

3. Quoted in Alex Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 136. (U)

4. U. S. Congress, Special House Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, Investigation of Communist Propaganda, 71st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), Part 2, Vol. 2, p. 116. (U)

5. The Communist, October 11, 1919, p. 7. (U)

6. The Worker, August 1, 1948, Section 3, p. 2. (U)

7. Gus Hall, Peace Can Be Won! (New York: New Century Publishers, 1951), p. 68. (U)

8. Daily Worker, February 19, 1957, p. 7. (U)

9. The Party Builder, March 1, 1935, p. 1. (U)

10. The Communist, January, 1934, p. 111. (U)

11. Louis Francis Budenz, Men Without Faces (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 84. (U)

12. Leonard W. Doob, Propaganda (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), pp. 238-239. (U)

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

13. William R. Kintner, The Front Is Everywhere (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), p. 45. (U)

14. Daily Worker, February 19, 1957, p. 7. (U)

15. J. Peters, The Communist Party--A Manual on Organization (New York: Workers Library Publishers, July, 1935), pp. 78-79. (U)

16. Doob, op. cit., pp. 239-240. (U)

17. The Worker, August 25, 1923, p. 1. (U)

18. C. A. Hathaway and Sam Don, Why a Workers' Daily Press? (New York: Workers Library Publishers, no date), p. 6. (U)

19. Daily Worker, January 1, 1945, p. 5. (U)

20. The Worker, February 8, 1948, p. 17. (U)

21. The Worker, August 25, 1946, Section 1, p. 14. (U)

22. Peters, op. cit., p. 59. (U)

23. Budenz, op. cit., p. 83. (U)

24. Eugene Lyons, The Red Decade (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), p. 111. (U)

25. Benjamin Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), pp. 16-36. (U)

26. Lyons, op. cit., pp. 132-133. (U)

27. Oliver Carlson, Handbook on Propaganda (Los Angeles: Foundation of Social Research), Vol. II. No. 1, Winter, 1953, p. 34. (U)

28. Harold D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock, World Revolutionary Propaganda (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), p. 67. (U)

29. Doob, op. cit., pp. 241-242. (U)

30. Literature, September, 1943, p. 3. (U)

31. Ibid. (U)

32. Daily Worker, January 8, 1927, p. 2. (U)

33. Benjamin Gitlow, I Confess (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1939), p. 305. (U)

34. Political Affairs, July, 1953, p. 16. (U)

35. Hall, op. cit., p. 68. (U)

36. U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, 75th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), Vol. 1, p. 390. (U)

37. Earl Browder, Communism in the United States (New York: International Publishers, 1935), p. 344. (U)

38. The Worker (New York-Harlem Edition), September 23, 1956, Section 2, p. 5. (U)

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library